

When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.¹ 583 582

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years. 583 587

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons. 848

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A stepfather treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own. 587

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'sküm'ladwa, was the widow of his elder brother, Kúfó. The levirate (*sa'yáqđ*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahawígłđ*, having two wives, *huwéđđ*, two; *tahamúgłđ*, having three wives, *hamúgđ*, three.) One 595

¹This is a popular fallacy, but it is countered by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it. ● [587]

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe@gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe@gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa'kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Teikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 302.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Teikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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591 ramento Valley are matrilineal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilineal residence.¹ Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

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587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuni, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseno do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.²

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624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuni there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.³ Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.⁴ Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.⁵

[614] It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.⁶ Clan chiefs, who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

¹Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 168; Curtis, II, 82; Mason, J. A., (d), 153; Lowie, (h), 276-278; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 236-241; (c), 317; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

²Kroeber, (j), 90; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 493; Lowie, (i), 375; Gifford, (b), 239; Holton.

³Stevenson, M. C., (a), 168; Darnest, 106; Russell, (d), 198.

⁴Parsons, (a), 280-289; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 85; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 168; Lippis, 38; Franciscan Fathers, 422.

⁵Holton.

⁶Kroeber, (a), 278; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Hall, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 246, 322, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 232; Faye, 42; Barrett, (b), 7; Lowie, (i), 282-286; Dixon, (c), 318; (d), 301.

however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes 768
to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on 428
which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut [763]
down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer 765
before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During [587] ●
this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p.
267). In the case of Fred's death in 1910, however, most of the tribes-
men met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is [177]
said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like
the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave
dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony.
but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to 769
talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go
near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always
took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the [761]
former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circum-
stances of death occurring away from the house.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general 171
area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribu- 764
tion. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern Cali-
fornia, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai,
Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Mari-
copa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,¹ Luiseno, Diegueño, and the people
throughout Baja California (or at least most of them²). Kroeber's map³
showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes
Cupeño, Juaneno, Gabrielino, and Fernandeno, for whom I have no data.
The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate
and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the
warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The
Zuni now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda
recorded that in 1540 they cremated.⁴

¹Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

²Curtis, II, 82, 78, 83, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (p. 501; Corbman, 227, 337; James, (c), 148;
Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 194; Allen, 618; Russell, (d), 302; Bartlett, II, 202; Ceremony (193)
states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 682; Hopper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 90; Sparkman, 226; Kroeber
(f), note 13; Boegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.

³Kroeber, (c), 306.

⁴Lewis, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlicka, (c), 45; Ceremony (193) gives
cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippis, 40; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 303; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

[587] A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

586 Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

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586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

583 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some
585 another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[177] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, \$50 was reportedly the sum given, and \$75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilineal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

viving children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to."

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Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 223), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule."

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Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years.

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In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's

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585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused.

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- C. Mean age at marriage for previously unmarried individuals. (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	23.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

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- D. Mean age at marriage for previously married individuals

- E. Mean age at marriage of new spouses of previously married individuals.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years			13.0 years
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0	35.6 years	22.7 years

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives in several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1930-54 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

[114] Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.)

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587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

[584] In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective groom.

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead."

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Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried.

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It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them.

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Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past.

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Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced.

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586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked,
"It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help
her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an
unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately
although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a dif-
ferent location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously
described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "mar-
riages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally,
matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a
marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and termi-
nated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. In-
dividuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if ques-
tioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real
marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier
remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of
[114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' com-
ment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai.
She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account.
However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples
have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the
first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the
absence of children is not a factor.

● 587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no
children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept
house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grand-
children. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[1165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond
childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once
separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of
the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives
have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
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three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

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Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

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Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.)

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In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry.

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When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-